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The
Law Association of Philadelphia

MINUTES

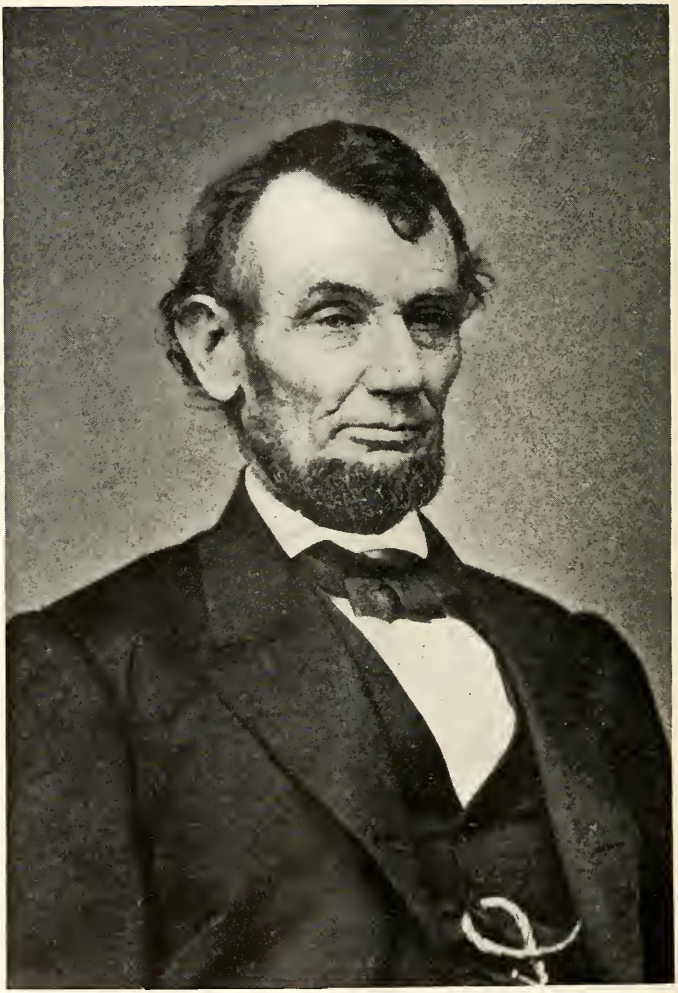
of the Meetings and Exercises held at the Rooms of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in commemoration of the Centennial of the Birth of

Abraham Lincoln

Orations by

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker
Colonel Alexander K. McClure

February 12, 1909



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of the Meetings and Exercises held at the Rooms of THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, in commemoration of the Centennial of the Birth of

Abraham Lincoln

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Extracts from the Minutes of the Meetings of February 2 and February 12, 1909

February 2, 1909

The Committee on Meetings, consisting of John I. Rogers, Chairman; Walter George Smith, George Quintard Horwitz and Albert B. Weimer, reported and recommended that "this time-honored Association should commemorate the Centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, on 12th inst."; that as the Association's Library Room was inadequate and unsuitable, they favored the acceptance of the invitation of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, through its President, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, to use the "Assembly Hall of that Institution—enriched with its interesting Lincoln Relics—on Friday, February 12th, at two o'clock in the afternoon for such commemorative exercises."

The Committee also reported that they had secured as orators for the occasion the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker and Colonel Alexander K. McClure.

Whereupon the Association approved of the report of the Committee and adopted its recommendations, including a vote of thanks to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for the use of its Assembly Hall and a resolution "that certified copies of the Minutes of such Commemorative meeting and of said orations be deposited with the Archives of the Pennsylvania Bar Association in their Museum at the University of Pennsylvania."

When the meeting adjourned, it adjourned to reconvene at the Assembly Hall of the Historical Society of

Pennsylvania, Thirteenth and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, on Friday, February 12, 1909, at two o'clock p. m.

FEBRUARY 12, 1909

An adjourned stated meeting of The Law Association of Philadelphia was held at the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Thirteenth and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, at two o'clock p. m.

The Chancellor, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Esq., presided and spoke as follows:

The meeting will please come to order.

Nearly a third of a century ago, I was one of a large crowd who stood in the Centennial Grounds and heard the address of Dr. Buckley, on Illinois Day of the Centennial. I only recall one sentence that he used in the course of that address, but that sentence has stuck to me from that day to this. In speaking of Lincoln, he said, "Taking him all in all he stands head and shoulders over any other man of the last thousand years." Since that day I have heard that same remark in varying language in this country from Maine to New Orleans and out as far as Oregon. I have heard the same thing in London, England; Paris, France; Yokohoma, Japan, and Shanghai, China; and, after all these years, and reading pretty much everything I could get my hands on in regard to Lincoln, I have reached the conclusion that Dr. Buckley did not exaggerate when he made that statement. But it is not for me to speak to you this afternoon in regard to Lincoln. There are others here who can do it far better than I could. I take pleasure in presenting to you first a man whom you all love and will love as long as you live, whether he lives as long as you do or not, Governor Pennypacker.

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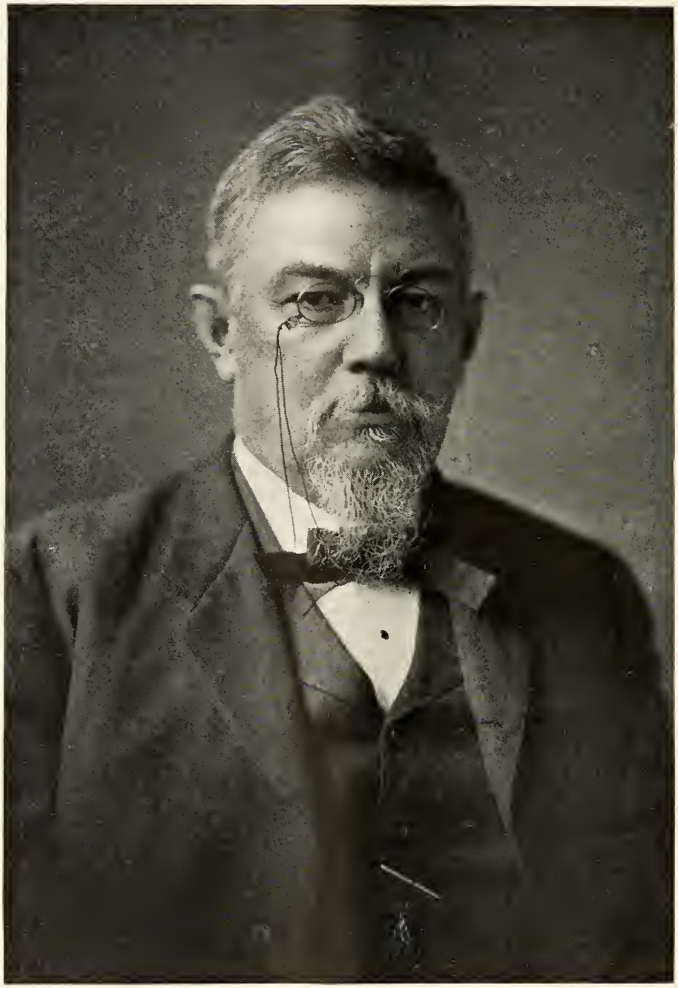


Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker

Mr. Chancellor and Gentlemen of the Law Association:

The invitation of your Committee was accepted a few days ago with the understanding that I had neither the time nor the opportunity to make any special preparation. It was my fortune to see Mr. Lincoln on his first appearance in Philadelphia on his way to the capital, riding in a barouche through the town, and to see him and hear him the next morning make his speech at Independence Hall and there raise the flag; to see him again at Washington and at the Sanitary Fair in Logan Square, in this city, and to see his body when it was brought through Philadelphia on its way to the West. These, however, are all events that have been fully described heretofore, and I am quite sure that you all know me well enough to believe that I would not appear before you, even in this way, unless I had something, unimportant though it may be, to add to our knowledge of Lincoln. Every man is not only a cause, but an effect. Every man's life is a link in an endless chain. He produces an influence which affects the future, and he is likewise the outcome of the conditions that surround him and that have existed in the past. I shall call your attention briefly to two movements of people. We live in what is properly called the "Iron Age." Pennsylvania owes its wealth, its strength, its prosperity and its importance to the development and growth of that great industry. That of which Mr. Carnegie is the modern exemplification began here with a man named Thomas Rutter, who was a blacksmith in Germantown. In 1716 he started the manufacture of iron in a small way in a forge up in the Manatawny region, back of Pottstown. Along with him was soon associated Thomas Potts and the Potts family became the great iron masters of the colonial period. It proved

to be a very prosperous business, and soon there was established a second forge along the French Creek at Coventry, Chester County, and later another forge which has become very famous since, at Valley Forge, and other iron industries. But it is the one at Coventry to which I want to call your attention. The French Creek flows through a narrow valley in northern Chester County and empties into the Schuylkill. Along both sides rise the hills, and upon the north side was the forge erected by Samuel Nutt, the principal man in the establishment of the industry in Chester County. He came there from Warwickshire, England, and he saw some resemblance in the scenery to his old home, and he called the place Coventry. Apparently he began the the manufacture of iron at Coventry in 1723. Associated with him were William Branson, a merchant of Philadelphia, and another man, a blacksmith, who had come across the Delaware River from New Jersey, named Mordecai Lincoln. For two years Mordecai Lincoln seems to have been a one-third owner of that forge. It became a famous iron industry and continued down to a very late period. The first steel in America seems to have been made at Coventry.

About the ancestors of the President there has been very little definite information, and that information which has been given has led to more or less confusion. I am sure the impression which exists in the minds of perhaps the greater number of us is that he came of an abject, obscure and ignorant family. This was in no sense correct, because, as I say, it has been ascertained that Mordecai Lincoln was one of those instrumental in founding this great industry which has affected us all for all time since. My contribution to the information which is to be presented to you here to-day is to produce to you for the first time that they have been exhibited, at least in recent days, two of the books of account kept at the Coventry forge. The earliest of them in 1726 contains Samuel

Nutt's account with Mordecai Lincoln. I will leave the books here, so that any of you who care to examine them may have the opportunity of looking them over. They are presented to you at this meeting, with their original information, for the first time.

They are certainly of interest. It may be that some of these details are unimportant, but Victor Hugo has written that in the study of humanity there are no small facts. It would seem that Mordecai Lincoln was a skilled man in his particular business, for the reason that it appears that after he had gone to Exeter Township in Berks County, he was brought back four times to fix the hammer, which had gotten out of order. Again we see that he bought shoes, for which he paid seven shillings a pair, and that on three or four occasions he purchased a pint of rum. He had in his house, living with him, at least six of the workmen. We find credits for "dieting," as it was called, these men; that is, they boarded in his house. But perhaps the most interesting fact of all which you can discover when you look at it, is, that he owned a negro slave. The name of this slave was Jack. Jack was dressed in osnabrigs, if you know what they were, and the tailor of the establishment made the suit for him. I discover that on one occassion he cut four and one-half cords of wood that was used in making charcoal which went into the manufacture of iron. After a few years Mordecai Lincoln removed to Exeter Township, Berks County. Fortunately, lying in yonder book, at the place where the account with Mordecai Lincoln is entered, is this little letter, written to Mrs. Anna Nutt, wife of Samuel Nutt, to whom I have referred. The year is not given, but it was about 1730. The letter runs:

"Tuesday, March 25th.

"Madam:

"There is no call for the pigs, so we stored them, and I will dispose of them as soon as I can. Notwithstanding,

I should have sent the things up, but the weather was so bad, I was afraid they would all be wet. I have sent hooks 0-0-6. I have sent the tobacco."

It is signed "Lincoln." The autograph might almost have been written by his distinguished great-great grandson. That brief letter is, so far as I know, the only scrap in existence written by Mordecai Lincoln.

There is another movement to which I want to refer, and you will have to excuse me if what I say about it may look as if it had some personal aspects. The man who built my house in 1720, and who built the mill adjoining the house, which since 1747 has been known as Pennypacker's Mills, was a man named Hans Joest Heijt. He was a German who had come over from Germany by the way of New York and up the Perkiomen Valley, and there started his work. In 1732 some impulse came over him, and he left that locality, and led a body of emigrants into the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. That was the beginning of a great movement of people. He was the pioneer settler in Virginia, west of the mountains. You may or may not know that he took up 140,000 acres of land in Virginia, and had a great legal contest with Lord Fairfax, which lasted all through their lives and was finally decided in his favor after their deaths. His son was an officer in the Revolutionary War and an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and his grandson married a sister of President James Madison. He was followed to Virginia by a mass of people. The Shenandoah Valley was peopled substantially by emigrants from Pennsylvania. The emigration began with him and was continued down until after the Revolution. From the Shenandoah Valley, they crossed the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee. And so it happens that, if you read the annals of Virginia and Kentucky, you will find them filled with Pennsylvania names. Among these emigrants which the movement carried away to Virginia, were Daniel Boone and John

Lincoln, the son of Mordecai Lincoln, and the great grandfather of the President. The oldest son of John Lincoln, Abraham, crossed the mountains, following Boone into Kentucky. In this book (showing it) which is also one of the iron books (and I was fortunate in rescuing the whole lot as they were on their way to the paper mill) is the autograph of John Lincoln—and that, so far as I know, is the only place where the autograph of John Lincoln can be found. There are two or three of his autographs in this book. There is a receipt, signed in 1753, for a ton of iron which John Lincoln hauled across the Schuylkill.

That is as much light as I have to throw upon the subject. But I want to impress upon your minds that, no matter what may have been said, or what may have been written, the time is coming when it will be recognized that a man who had so much to do with the establishment of the iron industry, as had Mordecai Lincoln, will be recognized as holding his own place of importance in the history of the country.

If we attempt to measure the greatness of men, we ever encounter difficulties, for the reason that there is no accepted standard. We have not the opportunity of seeing all the results. We have no gauge to apply. All we can do is to approximate. For myself, I should say that in striving to reach the great in history, you should seek to find those men who have had control of the movements which have affected the masses of humanity permanently, and who have had the intelligence and character which enabled them to exercise that control successfully. Such a measure necessarily excludes the talkers and the writers, for the reason that it never can be that a man who simply narrates and philosophizes about events has that importance in the advancement of mankind as he who acts. There are a few mountain peaks in the development of humanity. You can count them on the fingers of one hand — Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon. There is

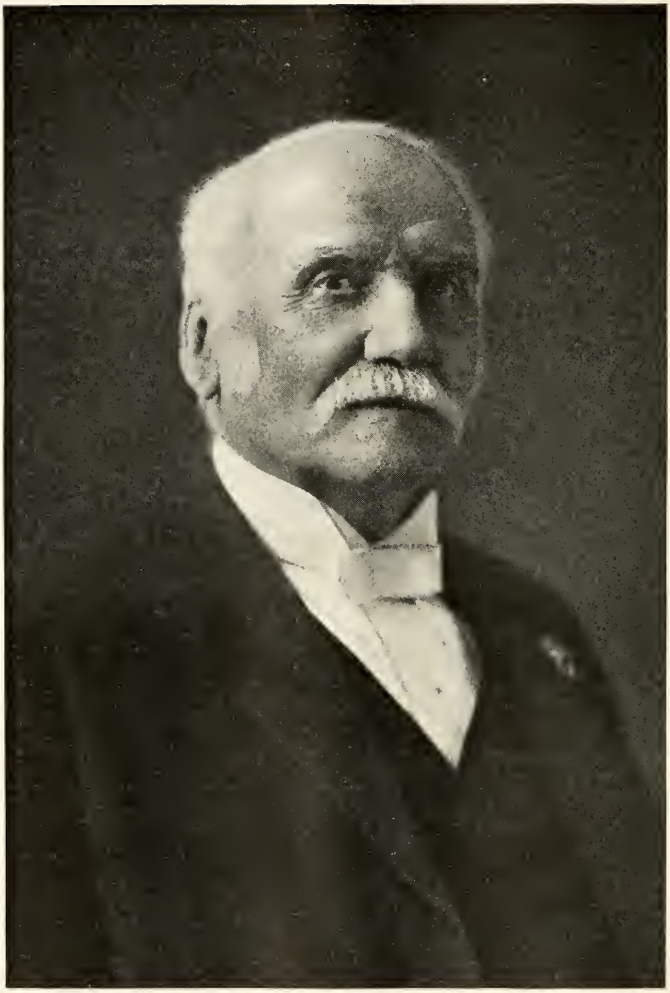
only one man judged by this test in the whole English-speaking race, whether in England or America, who can be put on the same plane, and he is Abraham Lincoln.

Too much has been said about saving the nation. More ought to have been said about the creation of the nation. This country never became a nation until after the battle of Gettysburg had been fought.

Ponder over the career of Lincoln in the light of its manifestations of destiny. Had he been successful in his contest with Douglass for the Senatorship, he would not have been nominated for the Presidency. Had not a delegate from Iowa offered a resolution in the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, he would not have been elected. How did it come about that this man, towering aloft above all other Americans in mental and moral stature, was at the helm just at the time when the ship neared the rocks? It was no chance play of popular forces. The only answer is that the fate of America and the future of the world made him necessary. One thing more was needed. It was essential to the results of his work that he should go forward to the tragedy of martyrdom. His sad face, his tender pathos, his prophetic inspirations, his impressive utterances when he raised the flag over Independence Hall and in the second inaugural, are proofs that he too had climbed a Mount of Olives and that he knew. No man can long ride the crest of popular approval and support. An admiral sunk a Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, and his fame tripped over the purchase of a house. Washington lived long enough to be denounced as "a harmless general and a dangerous politician." The ancient Hebrews and the ancient Mexicans alike offered up men and women upon their altars. There is truth in the thought. The most beautiful maiden in the city must be fed to the minotaur. The best courage of Rome must ride into the abyss. The pathway of human progress is sprinkled with human blood. It was required of Abraham Lincoln, as it was of William of Orange, and

Joan of Arc, and Henry of Navarre, and Him of Galilee, that he should drink the cup and give up his life for the cause of humanity. But it happened only after his labors had been finished, his fame secured and the nation welded together and made strong to confront the dangers which time reveals.

The God who rules over the universe, holding the nations in the hollow of His hands and watching the fall of the sparrows, showed forth His loving kindness when to the American people he gave Abraham Lincoln.



THE CHANCELLOR (introducing Colonel McClure): Many audiences to-day will listen to addresses and orations, of which the subject will be Abraham Lincoln. Very few of those audiences will be addressed by men who were acquainted with him in his lifetime. Perhaps none other by a man who really knew him. That pleasure probably remains for us alone. And when I say to you that the gentleman who really knew him, and who now will address you, has had no less than one hundred and forty-five invitations to speak upon that subject to-day and to-night, and that he will speak only to you, you may indeed know the honor that is conferred upon you. I have very great pleasure indeed in presenting to you the man who really knew Lincoln—Colonel Alexander K. McClure.

Colonel Alexander K. McClure

Mr. Chancellor and Gentlemen of the Law Association:

I have no prepared address for this occasion, and shall simply in a conversational way give you some personal recollections and impressions of Abraham Lincoln. I never met him until after he was elected President, and my intimate relations with him during his continuance in office and until the time of his death were the result largely of accidental conditions. In 1860 I was a member of the Senate and somewhat active in my humble way in promoting the nomination of Andrew G. Curtin for Governor. There were bitter factional conditions confronting us, owing to the hostility of General Cameron to Curtin's nomination, but after a hard struggle Curtin was nominated for Governor at our State Convention in March, 1860, several months before the meeting of the Republican National Convention.

We had no Republican party in Pennsylvania at that time, and if we had nominated Curtin as the Republican candidate for Governor in 1860, he would have been beaten by 50,000 or more. Practically we had no coherent party at all. He was nominated in what was called a "People's Convention," for the reason that there were so many elements or parties without coherency which had to be united to win the battle. There were four distinct organizations in the State, all of which were opposed to the policy of the Buchanan administration, and especially to the attempt to force slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. There were the Old Line Whigs, the American or Know-Nothing party, the Anti-Buchanan, or what was then known as the Anti-Lecompton Democrats, and the original Abolition party, which was then small and extremely radical. These four elements had to be combined to win at the October election, and all of them were represented in the People's State Convention that nominated Curtin. I was asked by Curtin to take charge of the campaign when he was nominated, but I begged him to appoint one of a number of others who sought the position. It was a most uninviting task to unite these four incoherent political elements into sympathy and cordial co-operation. To my surprise, and much to my regret, Curtin finally decided that I must accept the responsibility of Chairmanship of the State Committee and take the management of the campaign.

Political contests were not then conducted as they are now. I came to Philadelphia in April to take charge of the political campaign, and spent five months here, working night and day. I engaged a modest room at the Girard House at nine dollars a week for room and board, and paid for it myself. The Secretary of the State Committee, who lived in Philadelphia, received no compensation, and the entire revenues of the State Committee, which in that great contest absolutely controlled the Presidential election, were ten thousand dollars. Dr. Jayne was heartily enlisted in

our cause, and tendered me his Commonwealth Building, on Chestnut Street above Sixth, for a rental of two thousand dollars, assuring me that if I had not the money to pay for it there would be no charge. Of course I did not have the money to pay the rent, and he gave me a receipt for it. Considering that the contest in Pennsylvania in October, 1860, would be absolutely decisive of the Presidential contest in November, you may understand how economical were political efforts in those days, when I say that with all the efforts I could make not over ten thousand dollars could be raised to be used for the organization of the State. There was no question whatever that if Pennsylvania elected Curtin in October, Lincoln would be elected President in November, and if Curtin was beaten in October, Lincoln was just as surely to be beaten for President. Thus the whole national contest centred in Pennsylvania, and I was charged with its direction. I appreciated the situation, and had much correspondence with Lincoln. He understood that the battle for his election was in Pennsylvania, and I had frequent letters from him, often several each week. He watched our campaign with the utmost interest, and the letters which he sent me from time to time were very interesting; and while I regretted very greatly the loss of my house and home in 1864, when the Confederate General burnt Chambersburg, I would rather have lost my house than to have lost the letters of Lincoln, which were there burnt.

Lincoln seemed to be well satisfied with my management of the campaign until some time in the summer. There was a great deal of friction between Curtin and Cameron, and they never were friends. I was supposed to be a devoted Curtin man, and the information went to Lincoln that the management of the campaign in Pennsylvania was not entirely in competent hands, and there was danger of losing the State. That, of course, was a very serious question for Lincoln. We had never met, and had

no personal acquaintance, nor had he and Curtin met; and he felt that he must inquire and ascertain the exact conditions. The result was that one day David Davis and Leonard Swett, well-known personal friends of Mr. Lincoln, who had met me at the Chicago Convention, entered my headquarters together and handed me a letter from Lincoln, which said that these gentlemen were greatly interested in his election and that they were on East looking into the contest generally, and would be pleased if I would furnish them with every facility to observe the condition of affairs in the State. I was very glad to do so, and they spent two days at my headquarters, where every information was given them of the methods and progress of organization, without reserve. They saw that for the first time in the history of Pennsylvania politics the party had been organized by a State Committee in every election district of the State, and that everything that could be done had been done to put the party in condition for a successful battle. I had a committee of three in every election district in the State in direct communication with me, and at that time it was very different from what it is to-day. I knew the leaders in every county, knew that they could be absolutely relied upon, and they furnished me a committee of three for every election district, every one of whom performed his duty with absolute fidelity. I had at that time a complete State canvass made through these local committees, not one of whom ever received or accepted a dollar for his services. Their return of the State showed a majority for Curtin of twelve thousand, independent of the doubtful vote. The visitors looked over my statistics and letters and examined them with great interest, and after they were through they said, "Dine with us this afternoon." At that dinner they said they were very happy to tell me what the real purpose of their mission was; but that, had the information been less satisfactory, they would have returned without advising me of the purpose of their visit. They said they had been

instructed by Lincoln to come to Pennsylvania and make a personal examination of the condition of affairs, especially as to the efficiency of the party organization of the State, and that Mr. Lincoln's reason for doing so was that he had been informed that the campaign in Pennsylvania was not being properly managed and that the State might be lost. They added: "It was a matter of vital importance to him, for if the State was lost he was lost. He sent us here on the special mission to look into the direction of this campaign, and, as we are going to report to him that it is the best organized State we have seen, we can have dinner together very pleasantly."

I had another canvass of the State made early in September, when the majority for Curtin was increased to seventeen thousand, excluding the doubtful vote, which I communicated to Lincoln; and in the end we had thirty-two thousand, and that absolutely settled the Presidential contest.

I did not meet Lincoln personally until January after the election. We had considerable correspondence on the question of his Cabinet. He telegraphed me to come to Springfield to confer on the subject. I reached Springfield at seven o'clock in the evening, and had telegraphed Lincoln of the hour I would arrive, and that I must return at eleven the same night. I went directly from the depot to Lincoln's house and rang the bell, which was answered by Lincoln himself opening the door. I doubt whether I fully concealed my disappointment at meeting him—tall, gaunt, ungainly, illy clad and with a homely manner that was unique in itself. He towered above me, although I am six feet two. He received me very cordially, and we went into the parlor and were uninterrupted the whole four hours that I remained with him. We discussed the question I had come to discuss, namely, the question of Cameron to be tendered a position in the Cabinet. He heard me with great patience, and I presented the case from my standpoint and Curtin's. When

I got through I could not form any idea as to whether I had impressed him. He gave me no intimation whatever, and any impression he had on the subject, if he had any, he did not convey to me. After I left him that night he wrote to Cameron, stating that he had offered him a position in the Cabinet and that he was satisfied now that it was an error, and asked Cameron to send him a declination. In that letter, which will be found in Nicolai and Hay's Life of Lincoln, he said, "You will say that this is because of McClure's visit, but it is not wholly so." Cameron did not send the declination, but his appointment to a position in the Cabinet was held open until Lincoln came to Washington, when Seward, who was very bitter against Curtin for defeating him for the nomination for President, threw himself into the contest and Cameron was made Secretary of War.

When that subject was disposed of and we came to the discussion of the general condition of the country I soon forgot that Lincoln was the ungainly man I had met, and while I was mindful of the fact that he was called to assume the gravest trial in American history, I was impressed that he was equal to any duty that was to come to him. I left him with that conviction firmly fixed in my mind and it was never changed to the day of his death.

It is needless in this intelligent assembly to discuss the record of Mr. Lincoln, but there is much that might be said about his personal qualities. He came to Washington under certain conditions that no other President ever met. There was not a single member of his Cabinet, nor a leading Republican in the United States Senate who believed that Lincoln was fitted for President. In point of fact, there was not a member of the Cabinet nor leader of either party in the Senate or House who had faith in the ability of Mr. Lincoln to meet the grave responsibilities which confronted him. Seward was regarded as the leader of the Republican party, and when he was called to the

Premiership of the Lincoln administration he felt that he must be practically President. Many of the Republican leaders had different ideas as to what way we could avert a civil war, but Seward conceived the idea of bringing on a war with either France or Spain, and that would re-unite the North and South and thus avert a civil war. He prepared a formal proposition and sent it to Lincoln himself, insisting that if such a war should be declared some one must be in absolute authority and control, and added that it was not a position he sought, but one that could not be declined. In other words he proposed to Lincoln that Lincoln should simply let Seward get up a war of his own and ignore the President entirely, to save the Union by getting the North and South to join in a war against a foreign enemy.

Lincoln understood it all perfectly well. He knew the situation always. He was a man of patience, a man of extreme caution, and a man who knew that in time he could win. He never resented Seward's open insult, but wrote a kindly letter, simply suggesting, in conclusion, that if any war should happen he thought the President of the United States ought to have something to do with it himself.

Almost every member of the Cabinet had a particular policy of his own. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury, and believed that disunion was preferable to a civil war; Seward had various policies, and the leading Republicans in the Senate and the House had policies which were inharmonious. In fact, I well remember that almost every prominent stateman of that time had a policy of his own for saving the Union and averting war. Lincoln had simple, good hard, common sense. To begin with he knew he had no army to bring on a great war. The whole army consisted of less than 18,000 men, a large proportion of these were surrendered in the South and most of the remainder was necessary to protect the overland routes

from the Indians. As Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, I was summoned to Washington with Governor Curtin on the morning after the surrender of Fort Sumter, to have a conference with General Scott and the Secretary of War, to determine the policy that Pennsylvania should adopt. We very soon decided upon a policy that was acceptable to all, and the Governor and myself returned to Harrisburg the same day, and passed through both branches of the Legislature, the same night, a bill appropriating half a million dollars, and providing for the defence of the State. Lincoln knew that he could not precipitate war. After this conference had decided what Pennsylvania should do, I took the liberty of inquiring of General Scott as to the military situation. I first inquired of him how many men General Beauregard had at Charleston, to which he answered "he has eight thousand." I then inquired how long it would require for him to bring these men to Washington. He said they could be brought within a few days. I then inquired how many he could have to confront them. With a most dispairing expression of countenance, he answered that Beauregard had in Charleston more men than he had available for war in the whole country. Thus Lincoln was entirely unprepared for war, and he well understood it. If he had determined to precipitate war by attempting to regain the forts and arsenals he would not have been sustained by a majority of the North with the solid South against him. He did not call Congress together until the Fourth of July, nor did he make any request for troops until after the bombardment of Fort Sumter. That bombardment gave him his policy, and that alone. The first gun fired on Fort Sumter practically united the North, and with a united North he was prepared to meet the issue. It was the first gun fired upon Sumter that sounded the death knell of the Confederacy.

When the war began Lincoln showed his ability in war, as he had showed it in every step and movement up

to that time. On the night of the Battle of Bull Run, when the army fell back into the trenches of Washington, Lincoln mapped out the policy of the Government in prosecuting the war. Alone in the White House after the midnight hour, he wrote out the military policy of the Government and presented it at the War Department on the following morning. He not only declared that the Army of the Potomac must be promptly reinforced, but he proceeded to state the strategic policy of the war. In that paper he declared that Tennessee should be rescued and that the Mississippi must be opened to New Orleans. It was a complete strategic presentation of the military necessities of the Government, and it was followed out practically to the letter. Few men knew that he was the most accomplished strategist of our Civil War. He noted every movement of every army. If you doubt it, read his many letters to McClellan after the Battle of Antietam, and to Hooker, before the Battle of Gettysburg, and you will learn what a master he was in the strategy of war. He was not only masterful in strategy, but he was masterful in statesmanship.

The greatest speech ever made in the political struggles of the Republic was made by Lincoln before the Republican State Convention of Illinois, when he was nominated for Senator. If any of you have not read that speech take the first opportunity you have and study it, and I am sure you will say that I am simply speaking the truth. It stands out alone in the political literature of the Republic. It was not a popular speech in the sense in which we understand it, but it was the result of Lincoln's most careful thought, and it gave him at once national reputation. Douglass had been nominated by the Democratic Convention of Illinois, for the Senate, in 1858, and the Republicans in their State Convention were entirely united in favor of Lincoln. Douglass was undoubtedly the ablest Democratic disputant of the country, and many of Lincoln's

friends feared that Douglass' great ability as an orator, and his adroitness as a campaigner, would put Lincoln at a disadvantage. It became known to Lincoln's friends that Douglass intended to challenge Lincoln to a public debate at different points of the State, and Lincoln at once assumed the aggressive by challenging Douglass to such a discussion. It was regarded by many of Lincoln's friends as a dangerous movement, but Lincoln knew that he would be compelled to accept Douglass' challenge, and took the initiative and made the challenge himself. Somewhat to the surprise of many of Lincoln's friends and greatly to the surprise of Lincoln's enemies, he proved more than a match for their accomplished leader in the Lincoln-Douglass discussion of 1858. Lincoln carried the State, electing the Republican ticket, but the legislative districts were so gerrymandered that Douglass was able to carry a majority of the legislature, and thus while Lincoln won his battle in the State he lost the Senatorship.

Two-thirds of the delegates to the National Convention met in Chicago in 1860 were either instructed or pledged for the nomination of Seward for President. He was a confessed leader of the Republican party, and his friends were absolutely confident of his nomination. Lincoln had been nominated for President by the State Convention of his State with little prospect at that time of his election, but when the Chicago Convention met, the Republican leaders felt that they had an opportunity to win, and in order to win the national election it was absolutely necessary that they should carry the October elections of Indiana and Pennsylvania, or especially Pennsylvania. Curtin attended that convention with myself as the Chairman of the State Committee in charge of his campaign, and Henry S. Lane, Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana, was also present, with John D. Defrees as Chairman of his State Committee. All knew that unless Pennsylvania could be carried in October, the candidate for

President could not be elected, and as Curtin and Lane were present, looking only for their own election, regardless of their feelings for or against the Presidential candidates, the natural inquiry was made of them by various delegations as to how their election could be secured. Curtin and Lane, with the Chairmen of their respective State Committees, who were in charge of the battles in Pennsylvania and Indiana, declared that, if Seward was nominated they would certainly be defeated, and that alone prevented the nomination of Seward in 1860. In both Pennsylvania and Indiana the American or Know-Nothing element was still maintaining its organization with more than the balance of power in these States. Seward had been elected Governor of New York in 1838, in which he was aided very largely by Archbishop Hughes, the ablest Catholic prelate in this country, and when he became Governor he sent to the Legislature a message urging the division of the school fund between Catholics and Protestants, and that made it impossible for him to have the support of the American element of the opposition to the Democratic party. Lane and Curtin both knew that, without the aid of that element, they could not succeed, and had Seward been nominated that element would have been aggressively against him and against the candidates of the opposition. I was present at many of the conferences held between Curtin and Lane by different delegations, and remember a prominent member of the Vermont delegation, with tears in his eyes, declare that, although they loved Seward, they loved the Republican party more, and that they could not afford to nominate him. That single issue prevented the nomination of Seward for President in 1860, in which certainly two-thirds of the delegates preferred him, and Lincoln's nomination was assured by Indiana and Pennsylvania finally declaring in favor of Lincoln. At a conference of the delegation which I attended it was decided to cast a unanimous vote for Cameron, who had

received the instructions of the State, and that whenever his nomination seemed improbable to vote for Lincoln. As Cameron's nomination was not within the range of possibility, it was the practical declaration of the State in favor of Lincoln, and it was accepted at once and settled the nomination of Lincoln, as Indiana and Pennsylvania had both declared for him.

In 1864, while the Republican people were very generally unanimous in favoring Lincoln's re-election, a number of the radical leaders of the party were not in hearty accord with him, and would have been glad to nominate Chase. Senator Wade and Commoner Stevens were aggressively hostile, although Stevens finally voted for his nomination, as a delegate, when Lincoln's defeat was utterly hopeless. Lincoln was much concerned about the opposition to his renomination, and sent for me several times to come to Washington to confer upon the subject. The last interview I had with him in relation to his renomination, I assured him he could dismiss all apprehension on the subject, as a very large majority of all the delegates were either instructed or publicly pledged to his support. He answered with a merry twinkle in his eye that always promised humor: "McClure, I don't forget that I was nominated for President in a convention that was two-thirds for the other fellow." The opposition was very aggressive, but feeble in numbers, and when the convention met in Baltimore it was very soon ascertained that Lincoln's nomination was inevitable, and the opposition sullenly gave in and made his nomination practically unanimous.

Although Lincoln entered the Presidency distrusted as to his capacity by all his surroundings, he gradually developed his ability and strength until he became absolutely masterful. When his nomination was telegraphed to the Senate, the only man who declared him to be the strongest and ablest of his party was his old competitor,

Senator Douglass, who frankly told the hesitating and doubting Republican Senators that Lincoln would be great and equal to any call, and no prophecy was ever more completely fulfilled. Lincoln not only was the great strategist of the war, and personally directed the movements of the various armies until Grant was made Lieutenant-General, but he proved to be masterful in statesmanship, and especially in the delicate diplomacy needed at that time. In all of Seward's diplomatic correspondence, which then required the most sagacious statemanship to hold foreign governments from recognizing the Confederacy, Seward never sent an important diplomatic letter on the subject that was not carefully studied and often revised by Lincoln himself. In fact, there is nothing in the history of American statesmanship that approaches the record made by Lincoln. No man had ever such important problems to solve and as now all can say that he solved them wisely. The one great problem to which he gave constant thought was that of reconstruction, as he lived long enough to know that the military power of the Confederacy was hopelessly broken. What his views were on the subject was unknown to any. Like at the beginning of his administration, the Republican leaders had various methods of reconstruction and the more radical element demanded the enfranchisement of all the freed men and the disenfranchisement and punishment of the masters. His general views as to the policy of sympathetic reconstruction were exhibited in this proposition made in a message prepared for Congress to pay the South four hundred million dollars for compensated emancipation, upon condition of the immediate restoration of the union. The Cabinet disapproved of the message and it never was delivered. When Lee surrendered he knew that reconstruction immediately confronted him, and in the last address he ever delivered, when he was serenaded on the surrender of Lee, he gave his first intimation of his view on reconstruction. He referred

to the question of enfranchising the freed men, and suggested in that address that suffrage should be extended to the "very intelligent" of the blacks and to those who had served in the army and navy and been honorably discharged. That would have given suffrage to very few of the negroes, and had Lincoln lived to accomplish reconstruction there would not have been universal suffrage nor would the South have suffered the spoliation of a decade of carpetbag rule.

If you will study the personal attributes of Lincoln, you have them best expressed in the beautiful sentence in his second inaugural address—"with malice towards none, with charity for all." No man ever felt the sorrows of his people more keenly than he did, but I never heard him utter a single sentence of resentment against the South or any of its leaders.

Some fifteen years after the war I was making a leisurely journey through the South, and when at Mobile received a despatch from Jefferson Davis asking me to visit him on my way to New Orleans. I was very glad of the opportunity to do so, and spent a very delightful day with him. When assured that no publication would be made of his utterances without being first submitted to him for his approval, he spoke very frankly upon every subject relating to the war. I saw that he was very much interested in Lincoln and very desirous to ascertain all about his personal qualities and habits and methods. He was surprised when I told him that I had many times heard Lincoln discuss the question of the war, but never heard him utter a single sentence of resentment against the South or those prominent in its struggle. I told him that I had heard Lincoln speak many times of Davis, Lee and others, and always with personal respect. He questioned me very minutely as to all the details of Lincoln's personal character and methods, and when the conversation on the subject ended he said, with a most pathetic expression: "Since the

day of the fall of the Confederacy, the darkest day the South has known was the day of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln." The South was then learning that the man whom they had denounced as a bloody butcher and an ignorant boor was not only a great statesman and a patriot, but a man who desired to secure reunion with the Southern States not as conquered provinces, but to bring them into full sympathy and fellowship. A year after the conference I had with President Davis I was again in the South, and was invited by the legislatures of North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee to address them on Abraham Lincoln, and all the vast audiences exhibited the kindest remembrance of the man they had so long hated and reviled. They had learned to understand that Lincoln was great in war, great in statesmanship, great in diplomacy, and that his policy in dealing with the South was expressed in that exquisite sentence of his—"with malice towards none, with charity for all."

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker: At the risk of intrusion, I want to say one word more, and I would not say it if I were not sure that you will see its importance. On the twelfth of April, 1861, at half-past four o'clock in the morning, the Rebels opened fire on Fort Sumter. Before the sun went down that day the legislature of Pennsylvania had passed an act appropriating five hundred thousand dollars with which to arm. It was the answer of the great North. It was the first step in the war. It was followed by New York a few days later, by Massachusetts about a week later, and it was three days before Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops. It was one of those momentous events, like the crossing of the Rubicon, which affected human affairs for all time to come. That act was drafted and was seen through its passage in the legislature by a Senator from Franklin County—Mr. Alexander K. McClure.

Mr. John I. Rogers: Mr. Chancellor, as Chairman and on behalf of the Committee on Meetings, I desire to felicitate the Association on the success of these exercises, which will, I predict, be classed as among the most unique and commemorative in our annals. Instead, therefore, of the usual perfunctory motion, I move a rising vote of thanks to express the unanimous appreciation by our members of the learned, eloquent and instructive addresses of the distinguished orators on this historic occasion.

The Chancellor: Those in favor of Colonel Rogers' motion will rise.

Every one rose and loudly voted "Aye."

The Chancellor: Colonel McClure and Governor Pennypacker, I tender you the unanimous thanks of the Association as emphasized by the rising vote of all its members.

The meeting then adjourned.

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